"From Forraine Parts": Non-English Europeans at Jamestown, 1607-1625

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In 1609, Robert Johnson, an advocate for the recently established English colony at Jamestown, presented to potential investors a lengthy discourse on the economic advantages offered by the Jamestown venture. In his discourse, later published with the title *Nova Brittania*, Johnson wrote: "[W]e have already provided and sent thither skillful workmen from forraine parts, which may teach and set ours in the way, whereby we may set many thousands a worke, in these such like services."[1]

"Workmen from forraine parts?" Jamestown, established on 13 May 1607, was an English colony, funded by an English company, the Virginia Company of London. It was founded by prominent Englishmen with a royal charter awarded by their king, James I, on 10 April 1606, granting them "[…] our licence, to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of *sundry of our people* [emphasis mine] into that part of America, commonly called Virginia […]."[2] Why, then, were "workmen from forraine parts" being sent to an English colony? From what countries did they come?

This article addresses both these questions by investigating an often-neglected segment of the Jamestown story: the contributions of non-English Europeans to the success of the first permanent English settlement in North America. During Jamestown's first eighteen years of existence, residents from over a dozen non-English European nations were residing in the colony, for such various reasons as espionage, religious toleration, or merely being at the wrong place at the wrong time. However, the overriding reason for the presence of "forraine" workmen

was economic gain, both for the Virginia Company of London and for themselves. What follows are the stories of these people from "forraine parts" at Jamestown from 1607 to 1625.

Francis Maguel (or Maguire) provided a deposition to a fellow Irishman about his eight months spent in "[…] this fort, which the English call James Fort." His account described the sea voyage from England to Virginia, the James River and James Fort, natural resources to be found and used in Virginia, the Powhatan Indians, three purported routes from Jamestown to the coveted South Sea (Pacific Ocean) and China, and the execution at the fort of Captain George Kendall, a Catholic, accused of plotting "[…] to get to Spain, in order to reveal to His Majesty all about the country and many plans of the English […]." Ironically, Maguel/Maguire was also Catholic, which went undiscovered by the Protestant English at Jamestown, and his report served as a Spanish spy document enclosed in a letter dated 21 July 1610, from Spanish King Philip III to his ambassador in London, Don Alonso de Velasco.[3] Maguel/Maguire left Virginia with Captain Christopher Newport in April 1608, following Newport's arrival at Jamestown with more supplies on 2 January 1608, making it likely Maguel/Maguire was one of the original 1607 settlers, despite his name not appearing on John Smith's list of settlers.[4]

In a letter dated 22 November 1621, Virginia's governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, noted the safe arrival at Jamestown of the ship, *The Flying Harte*, from Ireland. The ship transported its sponsor, Daniel Gookin, who

> brought with him aboute 50 more upon that Adventure besides some 30 other Passengers, wee have Accordinge to their desire seated them at

> Newports news, and we doe conceave great hope (if the Irish Plantacone prosper) frome Ireland greate multitudes of People wilbe like to come hither.[5]

Gookin, an Englishman who owned an estate in Ireland, contracted with the Virginia Company to transport not only settlers but Irish cattle to the colony with the understanding he would be given land to establish his own particular plantation. The Virginia Company eventually granted his land patent, totaling 1,831 acres, in present-day Newport News. How many of Gookin's passengers were Irish is hard to determine, as none of the 20 inhabitants identified as living at his "Newportes newes" muster in 1625 are listed by nationality.[6] Nonetheless, notes of a Virginia Company meeting held in London 3 April 1622, document Gookin's safe arrival in Virginia and the interest of

> certen gentlemen of Ireland nowe in Towne beinge much encouraged … [and] made an offer to undertake the like performance as Mr. Gookin had donn … [and] …to transport out of Ireland 20 or 30 able youths of 16 or 17 yeares of age to Virginia to be Apprentices for 6 or 7 yeares in the Companies service […].[7]

Ironically, as these "certen gentlemen of Ireland" and Virginia Company officials were discussing sending more settlers to Virginia, they were unaware of the numerous Powhatan Indian attacks launched upon many of the English settlements scattered along both banks of the James River on 22 March 1622. Among the names of the 347 settlers listed as being killed that

day was "Francis, an Irishman."[8] An additional tabulation of the dead in the colony entitled, "A List of the names of the Dead in Virginia since April last; [F]ebruary 16, 1623[1624]," contains the names of two deceased Irishmen, James and John, residents of Elizabeth City, perhaps brought to Virginia by Gookin. [9]

A letter written by William Hobart to his father, dated 12 April 1623, claimed Gookin's plantation had suffered further losses since the March 22 attacks:

> He [Hobart] found at his landing out of the *Abigail*, The Gouernor & lady [Mr. and Mrs. Wyatt] at Mr. Gookin's Plantacon. But of all Mr. Gookin's men which he sent out the last yeare we found but 7: being all killd by th[e] Indians and his plantacon ready to fall to decay.[10]

If this account is correct, several of the dead listed for Elizabeth City on 16 February 1623/24, were probably residents of Gookin's plantation, and except for James and John, no other Irish persons are identified. Perhaps this was an oversight on the part of the chronicler; conceivably further research of records in England or Ireland would reveal that Gookin's plantation was predominately an Irish one.[11]

One other documented Irish arrival in Virginia is of an unnamed youth in January 1622. The ship *Tiger*, transporting settlers to Virginia, was attacked and boarded by Turks on its way to

Virginia. Two English boys were removed by the Turks and substituted with a French and Irish youth. Their fate after arriving in Virginia is undocumented.[12]

The arrival of additional settlers at Jamestown on the *Mary & Margaret* in September 1608 added to the multi-national make-up of the colony's population. Aboard this ship were men from Germany and Poland (to be discussed in more detail below) and a new member of the governing council, Captain Peter Winne (Wynne). Captain John Smith wrote, "Of this supply there was added to the council one Captain Waldo and Captain Wynne, two ancient soldiers and valiant gentlemen, but yet ignorant of the business, being but newly arrived."[13] Captain Winne was Welsh, as was another of the new arrivals, David ap Hughes. ("ap" is a Welsh idiom meaning, "son of.")[14] In a letter dated 26 November 1608, Winne described an exploratory trip he and others took into Monacan Indian territory, west of Jamestown:

> I traveled between 50 or 60 miles by land into a country called Monacon, who owe no subjection to Powaton […]. The people of Monacon speak a far differing language from the subjects of Powaton, their pronunciation being very like Welch, so that the gentlemen in our company desired me to be their interpreter.[15]

Unfortunately for Captain Winne, his reputation with John Smith so deteriorated that Smith claimed Winne was plotting to "[…] hinder their project."[16] It is believed Winne died in Virginia in the spring of 1609.[17]

Sadly, records do not identify any early Jamestown settler as being Scottish; however, the Spanish ambassador to England, Don Pedro de Zuñiga, intimates otherwise in a letter to his king dated 5 October 1607. Zuñiga writes:

> A man has told me to-day, a man who usually tells me the truth, that these men [English] are complaining of what the King [James I] does for the Scotch who may go there [Virginia], and that he favors them more than themselves.[18]

King James I was also King James VI of Scotland before becoming the King of England following the death of Queen Elizabeth I in March 1603. His Scottish peers were anxious to exploit their relationship with the new king in order to gain wealth and prominence over their English counterparts. It would appear, according to Zuñiga, this Scottish scramble for advantage extended to the colonization of Virginia.[19]

As earlier stated, with the arrival of the *Mary & Margaret* at Jamestown in September 1608, John Smith recorded the landing of "eight Dutchmen [Germans] and Poles."[20] The Virginia Company was beginning its active recruitment of people from "forraine parts" to begin industries in Virginia it hoped would prove financially beneficial to the company, the colony and England. Many of these industries required the expertise of skilled artisans found in other parts of Europe.

As early as the 14th century, England was importing skilled craftsmen to make the country as self-sufficient as possible in manufacturing. Every European power, in order to increase its wealth and not the wealth of its competitors, attempted to minimize its importation of other nation's natural resources and finished products. Competition between European countries for natural resources, manufactured goods, trade and consumption of goods was one of the driving forces behind colonization. England wanted colonies to ensure her economic independence and power in Europe, especially against Spain. The Virginia Company of London, in its attempt to make Jamestown financially successful, mimicked the Mother Country's long-held policy of encouraging its companies and manufacturers to import foreign artisans.[21]

One of the first manufacturing endeavors tried at Jamestown was glass production; the reason German or "Dutch" (see above, footnote 20) glassblowers were shipped to the colony in September 1608.[22] John Smith provided the first names of three Germans ("Dutchmen") who arrived in 1608: Adam, Francis and Samuel. When Captain Newport sailed back to England on the *Mary & Margaret* in December 1608, he transported "[…] trials of pitch, tar, glass, frankincense, soap-ashes, with the clapboard and wainscot that could be provided."[23] Perhaps Adam, Francis and Samuel were the glassblowers responsible for this trial of glass. Smith further relates he dispatched "three Dutchmen and two English," after Newport's departure, to Chief Powhatan's village, Werowocomoco, to build the chief an English-style house, which he had requested of Smith. The three "Dutchmen" sent were Adam, Francis and Samuel.[24] Does this indicate, as some scholars claim, that these three were carpenters and not glassblowers?

German glassmaking records specify that glassmakers worked in teams of two or three, the "*Meister*" or master, and the "*Knecht*" or assistant. In addition, these professional artisans required the assistance of workers to do manual labor, such as cutting wood to fire the glass furnaces and build their working area, or glasshouse.[25] In 1610, William Strachey described this "glasshouse" area:

> For should they [Powhatan Indians] have broad and open windows in the quarters of their houses, they knew not well how upon any occasion to make them close and let in the light too, for glass they know not—though the country wants not salsodiac [sal soda, a hydrated sodium carbonate] enough to make glass of, and of which we have made some store in a goodly house set up for the same purpose, with all offices and furnaces thereto belonging, a little without the island where James town stands […].[26]

Did the three named Germans have multiple jobs; building the glasshouse facilities, producing the trial of glass, and building Chief Powhatan's house, or were they the laborers sent to assist the real glassblowers? Of the remaining five Dutchmen and Poles who arrived in 1608, perhaps three were Poles, later identified by their first names, who were sent to Jamestown to produce vital naval stores, pitch and tar, as well as potash and soap ash.[27] This leaves two unnamed "Dutchman" and/or Poles. Were these two unnamed men the *Meister* and the *Knecht*, the German glassmaking team, who made the trial of glass in 1608? [28] Perhaps so, as Adam, Francis

and Samuel remained with the Powhatan Indians after being sent to build Chief Powhatan's house in December 1608. According to John Smith, they did so because they knew how desperate the colony was for food and,

> […] finding his [Chief Powhatan's] plenty and knowing our want, and his preparations to surprise us, little thinking we could escape both him and famine, to obtain his favor revealed to him so much as they knew of our estates and projects, and how to prevent them.[29]

These three also conspired to purloin weapons from the fort to give to Chief Powhatan, deceiving Captain Winne on one occasion, and were able to convert other settlers, including William Volday or Foldoe, "a Switzer by birth […]," to their new cause.[30] Francis was later captured by the English in another arms-gathering attempt in 1609, and Adam returned to Jamestown sometime after a general pardon of his conduct was granted. Samuel chose to stay with the Powhatan Indians. At some point in 1609 or 1610, Adam and Francis both returned to the Powhatan Indians, and, ironically, all three Germans were killed at the command of Chief Powhatan by 1610.[31]

If Adam, Francis and Samuel were indeed the glassmakers, this business venture ended with their flight to Powhatan, and certainly with their deaths in 1610. But if they were not the *Meister* and *Knecht*, was another trial of glass made after the fall of 1608? Two accounts may suggest this possibly, and if correct, seem to confirm that the three known wayward Germans were not the glassmakers.

The first account is William Strachey's 1610 description of the glasshouse. He states, "[…] we have made some store [glass] in a goodly house set up for the same purpose […]." Is Strachey referring to the 1608 trial of glass or a more recent trial made in 1609 or 1610? The second account by John Smith intimates an additional trial of glass was made sometime during the first half of 1609:

> Now we so quietly followed our business that in three months we make three or four last of tar, pitch and soap-ashes, produced a trial of glass, made a well in the fort of excellent sweet water, which till then was wanting, built some twenty houses, recovered our church, provided nets and weirs for fishing, and to stop the disorders of our disorderly thieves and the savages built a blockhouse in the neck of our isle […].[32]

Chronologically, Smith's description of the above activities at Jamestown occurred after the following engagements with the Powhatan Indians beginning in January 1609; Smith's encounters for food with Chief Powhatan at Werowocomoco and with Chief Powhatan's brother, Opechancanough, at his Pamunkee village; Smith's struggle with and capture of Wowinchapunke, King of the Paspahegh tribe, aided by two of the Poles near the glasshouse; the submission of the Chickahominy tribe to Smith; and Smith's reviving of a "dead" Powhatan captive in the fort's dungeon using "aqua vitae and vinegar […]." Following these interactions with the Powhatan Indians Smith recounts, "These and many other such pretty accidents so amazed and affrighted both Powhatan and all his people that from all parts with presents they

desired peace, […], and all the country became absolutely as free for us as for themselves."[33] Thus the English at Jamestown could "quietly" pursue various business and housekeeping duties, including making another trial of glass, when only Francis and the two aforementioned unnamed Germans or Poles were at the fort. Regardless of whether only one or two trials of glass were made, this business venture apparently ended by 1610 or 1611, as no further mention of glassblowing appears in the documents following Strachey's account, until the arrival of new glassblowers in 1621.

More German or "Dutch" settlers appeared in the colony in 1620. The Virginia Company hired four "Dutch" carpenters from Hamburg and sent them to Virginia to erect sawmills. Sadly, these men arrived in the colony sometime in the summer or fall of 1620 and suffered horribly. They spent seven or eight months scouting the countryside for the best sawmill locations but, "[…] beinge dishartned by their unkind enterteynement in Virginia and almost famished by their meane provisions and beinge utterlie disabled to bringe that worke to perfeccon […]," they became sick and died. Only the son of one of the carpenters survived to be sent home to his mother. The wives of the carpenters sued the Virginia Company for the wages of their deceased husbands, and the company agreed to pay them their full salaries.[34]

The last mention of Germans in early colonial Virginia is found in John Pory's letter to Sir Edwin Sandys, dated 12 June 1620, in which he relates, "you have sent two Germans skillful in mynes […]," to help discover sources of raw materials for shipment back to England.[35]

Holland's ambassador to England, Sir Noel de Caron, in late 1606 was instructed by his government to propose an alliance between Holland and England for the settlement of Virginia. The Dutch believed England would need their assistance to ensure the success of the Virginia colony against their common enemy: Spain. King James I declined the offer fearing Spanish reprisals. In 1610 Sir Caron repeated the Dutch offer of aid for the Virginia colony, and in February 1611 the Virginia Company dispatched Sir Thomas Gates to Holland to investigate its feasibility. Unfortunately, no documentation has been found regarding the outcome of Gates' mission.[36] However, a true "Dutchmen" may have been at Jamestown in 1607. A letter written in London by Sir Dudley Carleton on 18 August 1607, discusses Captain Christopher Newport's recent return from Jamestown. In the postscript, Carleton writes, "Mr. Porie tells me of a name given by a Duchman who wrote to him in latin from the new towne in Virginia, Jacobopolis […]." Is this "Duchman" a German or true Dutchman? The record is unclear.[37] However, notes from a January 1622, meeting of the Virginia Company council in London record:

> Mr. Powntis hath had some conferens with the master of the Irish ship a Dutchman whose name is Cornelius Johnson, of Horne in hollande, who is soe farr in love with this Countrey [Virginia] as he intendeth to retorne hither, within this Twelve moneth, and of him selfe offered to procure and bringe over a fitt master workman, to builde Sawinge mills here which shall go with the winde […].[38]

A 400-acre land patent was registered on 6 September 1654, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, to a Cornelius Johnson. Is this the same Dutchman who in 1622 wanted to return to Virginia and build windmills?[39]

In July 1621, Sir Dudley Carleton, Great Britain's ambassador to the Netherlands, received a written appeal from Jesse de Forest seeking permission from the Virginia Company to allow a group of Protestant Walloons and French Huguenots, residing in Leyden, Holland, to live in Virginia.[40] The group created a document listing 227 men, women and children hoping to go to Virginia.[41] Ambassador Carleton favored the proposal, submitted the request to the Virginia Company, which endorsed the project on 11 August 1621. The company stipulated the number of emigrants be limited to 300. In addition, they must pay their own passage, swear allegiance to King James I and his successors, and obey the laws of the Church of England.[42] But before the company's reply was received by the Walloons and French Huguenots, the newly-created Dutch West India Company recruited 30 of the families, mostly Walloons, to establish a more permanent presence on the southern tip of the Hudson River. Up until this time, there were only a few Dutch fur traders living in trading camps on the lower Hudson. These thirty families left from Amsterdam aboard the *New Netherland* in early1624, arriving in New York Bay that spring. These new settlers occupied several locations along the Hudson River, one believed to be Manhattan Island, later named New Amsterdam.[43] Though many Walloons settled New Netherland, others may still have come to Virginia, their names buried in an archive or lost to history.

About the time Sir Carleton was receiving the Walloon request to settle in Virginia, another group of emigrants was being readied to go to Jamestown and restart the glassmaking industry: Italians. In 1621, the Virginia Company awarded Captain William Norton a seven-year glassmaking monopoly in the colony using the talents of Italian glassblowers. In addition, he was granted one-half of the glassmaking profits during those seven years as well as 400 acres of Virginia land. Transportation to Virginia of the Italians: four glassmakers, two of their wives, three of their children and two assistants, as well as glassmaking equipment, was to be paid by the company; however, there were insufficient funds to do so. The company eventually raised the money through a public joint-stock venture. Norton paid for his family's passage to Virginia, and including the Italians, all 16 of them arrived at Jamestown in the late summer or early fall of 1621.[44] The only restrictions placed on Norton were, "[…] within three moneths after their Arivall in Virginia sett upp a Glasse furnace and make all manner of Beads & Glasse […]," and because, "[…] makinge of the beads is one of Captain Norton's cheife employments which beinge the mony you trade with the natives we would by no meanes have through to much abaundance vilified or the Virginians [Powhatan Indians] at all permitted to see or understand the manufacture of them […]."[45]

Unfortunately, the second attempt at establishing glassmaking at Jamestown was a fiasco, as described in a letter written by the colony's treasurer, George Sandys, in March 1623:

> The ill successe of ye glasse workes is almost equall unto this: first the coveringe of ye house, ere fully finished, was blowne downe, by a tempest noe sooner repaired but ye Indians came upon us [22 March 1622], which

for a while deferd ye proceedinges. Then they built up ye furnace, which after one forthnight yt ye fire was put in, flew in peeces: yet ye wife of one of ye Italians (whom I have now sent home, haveinge received many wounds from her husband at severall times, & murder not otherwise to be prevented, for a more damned crew hell never vomited) reveald in her passion [it was] Vincentio crackt it with a crow of iron: yet dare wee not punish theise desperate fellowes, least ye whole dessigne through theire stubbornesse should [perish]. The summer cominge on, Capt: Norton dyed with all [saving] one of his servants [Norton's family, not the Italians], & hee nothinge worth: The Italians fell extremely sicke: yet recoveringe in the ye beginninge of ye winter, I hyred some men for yt service, assisted the[m] with mine owne, rebuilt the furnace, ingaged my selfe for provisions for them, & was in a manner a servant unto them. The fier hath now beene six weekes in ye furnace, and yett nothinge effected. They complaine yt ye sand will not run. (though themselves made choise therof, and like it then well enough) & now I am sendinge up ye river to provide the[m] with better, if it bee to bee had. But I conceave that they would gladly make the worke to appeare unfeasible, yt they might by yt meanes be dismissed for England. Much hath beene my truble herein, and not a little my patience (haveinge beene called rascall to my face for reprovinge them of theire ryot, negligence & dissension) but, for the debt which I am in, for theire sustentation I hope ye adventurers will see it discharged.[46]

In another letter written by George Sandys in April 1623, he explains to Virginia Company officials that he was still trying to make the glassmaking project successful by locating sources "[…] for sand for the Glasse men [...], [but], […] Al[l] the servants are dead […]."[47] Only five Italians were listed among the living at the "the glase howse" in February 1623/24: Vincentio, mentioned by Sandys in his letter; Bernardo; "Ould Sheppard, his sonn;" Mrs. Bernardo; and Richard Tarborer.[48] The only other Italian mentioned in the lists of 1623/24 was deceased: "Symon, an Italian." Vincentio and Bernardo were probably glassblowers because their wives had come with them to Virginia, but Tarborer's and Symon's occupation and/or relation to them is unclear.[49] A letter dated 15 June 1625, from the governing council at Jamestown explains that Sandys' glassmaking efforts were for naught as,

> […] the glass woorkes geven in by mr. George Sandys we herewith send you, the death of one of ye princypall woorkmen [Symon perhaps?], an other beinge subject to the falinnge sicknese [epilepsy?], and many defects which render the woorke unservable, Hath moved us to Cond[e]scende to the importunate suite of the glasse men of returninge for England […].[50]

It is unknown how many, if any, of the remaining Italians survived to return to England or decided to remain in Virginia.

John Smith, usually critical of others' efforts at Jamestown, especially when on the subject of work, wrote, "[…] that [many of the settlers] never did know what a day's work was, except the Dutchmen and Poles and some dozen other."[51] Often erroneously associated with glassmaking at Jamestown were the Poles who arrived with the Germans in 1608. The Poles' hard work was needed to produce other valuable commodities for Great Britain: tar, pitch and turpentine, known as naval stores. A maritime nation that relied heavily on her navy for protection from foreign fleets, Great Britain needed copious amounts of wood and naval stores for her ships. Her primary suppliers were Baltic countries such as Poland, Sweden (which in the 17th century also included present-day Finland), Denmark and Germany. Turpentine, the oleoresin of certain pine and fir trees, in its natural state was of no use to the maritime industry, but, when distilled, produced tar and pitch. Tar was vital for the manufacturing of rope used to rig the sails of ships, as well as a wood preservative on both sea and land. Pitch, made by boiling tar, was used to paint the sides and bottoms of ships for protection against wood-eating insects. Both tar and pitch were also used by ships' caulkers when sealing ships.[52]

The Poles also produced soap ash and potash. Soap ash is the gray ash by-product derived from the burning of certain woods, usually oak, ash, poplar, hickory, elm, and hazel. Soap ash could then be processed into potash, needed for the production of glass and soap. The German glassmakers needed potash to produce glass for shipment to England. Soap ash and potash were also valuable commodities for shipment back to England, for they would reduce her dependence on importing these resources from Baltic countries.[53]

In a broadside issued by Virginia Company officials on 17 May 1620, the importance of the Polish artisans' work was stressed:

> […] for Pitch and Tarre, we advise and require, that the Polackers be returned in part to these their works, with such other assistance as shall be necessary. The like we shall desire for Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, when there shall be fit store of hands to assist them: Requiring in the meane time, that care be generally taken, that Servants and Apprentices be so trained up in these works, as that the skill doe not perish together with the Masters.[54]

Why did the Company issue advice to the colony to return the Poles to their work? Apparently, in 1619 or earlier, the Poles complained about their treatment in the colony and stopped working. Documents from a Virginia Company court meeting held on 21 July 1619, relates:

> Upon some dispute of the Polonians resident in Virginia, it was now agreed (notwithstanding any former order to the contrary) that they shalbe enfranchised, and made as free as any inhabitant there whatsoever: And because their skill in making pitch & tarr and sope-ashees shall not dye with them, it is agreed that some young men, shalbe put unto them to learne their skill & knowledge therein for the benefitt of the Country hereafter.[55]

The dispute between the Poles and their English sponsors at Jamestown was settled in favor of the Poles, with the right of suffrage granted them in Virginia as well. A recent election held in Virginia in 1619, the first of its kind in the colony, allowed all its residents, of appropriate age, to choose representatives, known as burgesses, "[…] to make ordeeine & enact such generall lawes & orders for the behoof of the said colony and the good [government] therof […]." The first House of Burgesses convened at Jamestown from 30 July to 4 August 1619. This first elected body of representatives served as part of a General Assembly comprised of the burgesses, the governor and his council (selected by officials of the Virginia Company in London). This first meeting of the General Assembly put Virginia (and future English American colonies) on the road to limited representative self-government, and ultimately to the formation of a new nation founded on the principles of representative government. If the Poles were granted suffrage this early in the colony's history, were other non-English European males as well? Were African male residents, the first Africans were brought to Virginia in late August 1619, also allowed to vote early in Virginia's history? Were Virginia Indian males, resident within English boundaries, allowed to vote? Based on voter qualifications used in 1619, which were reaffirmed in 1621, the answer might be, yes. If true, these progressive voter qualifications were changed at various times throughout the remainder of the 17th century as Virginia's General Assembly passed restrictive suffrage laws based on residents' landholdings or lack there of, their social status, and their skin color, but not based on European nationality.[56]

Virginia Company records identify three Poles who went to Virginia: Robert, Mathew and Molasco. Were they amongst the Poles who came to Jamestown in 1608? The records do not say, but if so, they lived a long time in a harsh Virginia environment that claimed the lives of the

majority of settlers sent to Virginia from 1607 to1625. Robert's name appears in an account by John Smith describing an English attack on the Chickahominy Indian village in 1616. Smith states, "[…] Twelve more we took prisoners, two whereof were brothers, two of their eight elders, the one took by sergeant Boothe, the other by Robert, a Polonian."[57] Mathew is listed among the slain on 22 March 1622.[58] Molasco is cited in three separate Virginia Company records, all related to an incident about which Virginia Company officials agreed on 19 February 1623, that "[…] he had suffered much wronge."[59] What this wrong was is not clear, but the company's Deputy, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, indicated it

> […] was so fowle oppression that had bin used to the poore man, and likewise upon divers others in the like cases [the other Poles in Virginia?] as he was afraide, both the Companies and Plantations did to the waight of their owne sins suffer Gods punishment for these former offences [22 March 1622 attack?]. [60]

The Deputy and Company officials promised to correct the wrong. However, Molasco attended another company meeting on 2 Febrauary 1624, petitioning for the money promised as restitution for the wrong done him, but was informed, "[…] hee was not to be sattisfied from them butt from such as have receaved great allowances from the Company for sattisfaccon of him and the rest of the Polanders, […], namely from mr. Woodall […]."[61] After this entry, company records are silent concerning the outcome of Molasco's and his fellow "Polanders'" petition.[62]

The continued importance to the Virginia Company for pitch, tar, soap ash and potash production is verified in 1620 by "[…] a Treaty already on foote, for procuring of men skilfull in those Trades from the Easterne parts: besides the Polakers yet remaining in Virginia."[63] An agent, Gabriell Wisher, contracted with the Company in 1620 to recruit artisans not only from Poland but also from "Sweadland" [Sweden]. This contract ultimately proved too expensive for the company, but they still hoped to locate "[…] some Marchants tradinge into those parts who might provide them with a farr less charge […]."[64] Whether another agent was able to recruit Swedes for Virginia is not documented. Ironically, the search for naval store harvesters eventually proved unnecessary because the Poles claimed,

> ffor Pytch and tarre, true yt is as some quantity hath heretoforebene made, so may there be some made hereafter, but some here that have lyved long in Poland doe say, […], that whereas in Poland a principall country for that commodity, there be whole forests of pytch trees and none else, and that for fower, and five hundred myles together in this parte of Virginia ye same kinde of trees growe but *** skatteringe here one and there one, and may indeed be employed to that use but with greate labor, and as greate losse.[65]

Despite all Virginia Company efforts, pitch and tar production never became the financial success its officials hoped it would become.

Another Jamestown arrival from Europe's "Easterne parts," was a physician named Johannes Fleischer. Born in 1582 in Breslau, Silesia, (today known as Wroclaw, Poland), Fleischer received his Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine degree in 1606 from the University of Basel, in Switzerland. An avid botanist, Dr. Fleisher's interest in the medicinal properties of North American plants most likely brought him to Jamestown in April 1608, aboard the *Phoenix*. A book entitled, *Silesia Togata*, published in 1706, provides the epitaphs for 1,567 Silesians, including Dr. Johannes Fleischer, claiming he died at Jamestown, Virginia in the summer of 1608. This information is repeated again in a late-17th century German manuscript.[66]

An interesting discussion could be had regarding what European country Dr. Fleischer represented at Jamestown. His hometown of Breslau became a fortified settlement in 1017 and was originally named Vratislavia. Part of Poland at that time, it later became the capital of the Duchy of Silesia. Vratislavia was re-named Breslau following the large migration of German settlers into the area in the 13th century. In 1335, Silesia became part of the Kingdom of Bohemia, which in turn became part of the Austrian Hapsburg Empire in 1526. Breslau did not become part of Prussia [Germany] until 1741 and was returned to Poland following the Second World War. Is Dr. Fleischer to be considered a Pole, a German or an Austrian? During his lifetime, Breslau was in Austrian territory, but claims can be made he was German.[67]

Although a latecomer, another European from "Easterne parts" at Jamestown was, "Tony a Turke," a servant of George Menefie. Menefie, who arrived in Virginia in 1622 or 1623, was a leading merchant and planter in the colony, and served as a member of the governor's council.

He owned a town lot in Jamestown and in 1635 acquired 1,200 acres of land at Rich Neck, located southwest of Middle Plantation (later renamed Williamsburg). In this 1635 land patent, "Tony a Turke" is identified as one of 24 persons transported to Virginia by Menefie.[68] Which part of the Ottoman Empire Tony was originally from is not known; however, much of southeastern Europe was part of the Ottoman Empire in the early 17th century as the Ottoman Turks first entered Europe in 1345 with present-day Turkey still retaining part of the province of Thrace and Istanbul. Maybe "Turk" was a literal identification of Tony's homeland in Turkey. [69]

On 13 April 1611, a Spanish sloop departed from Lisbon, Portugal, under orders from the King of Spain to sail to Havana, Cuba, and then proceed up the North American coast to Virginia to learn as much as possible about the English colony. This spy mission was headed by Don Diego de Molino. He was accompanied by Ensign Marco Antonio Perez, an English pilot named Francis Lymbrye, and fifteen others. The sloop entered the Chesapeake Bay and anchored near the English fort at Point Comfort, Fort Algernon, about June 27. Molino, Perez and Lymbrye, conducting a scouting mission near the fort, were captured by the English. Attempts by the English to lure Molina's shipboard comrades to anchor nearer Fort Algernon proved fruitless as the Spanish ship departed and returned to Havana to report the capture of Molina and his companions.[70]

Molina and fellow captives were taken to Jamestown and imprisoned, becoming "residents" in Virginia for the next five years.[71] During his stay in Virginia, Molina continued his spy mission using some very ingenious methods to smuggle letters out of Jamestown for his king via unsuspected couriers friendly to Spain.[72] Molina and Lymbrye were released and sailed from Virginia for England in 1616 aboard the *Treasurer* with shipmates Rebecca Rolfe, better known as Pocahontas, John Rolfe, her husband of two years, and their son, Thomas Rolfe. When their ship was in sight of England, Deputy-Governor of Virginia Sir Thomas Dale had the Englishman Lymbrye hanged as a traitor from the yardarm of the ship. Molina stayed only a short time in England and was released to return to Spain. Once home, he was given command of six ships ordered to attack the Virginia colony. On the voyage to Virginia, Molina's crew mutinied and murdered him, thus ending the mission.[73]

The arrival of a captured Spanish ship at Jamestown in July 1625 placed a Portuguese pilot in Virginia's colonial capital. English privateers, commanded by Captain Thomas Jones, captured a Spanish ship in the West Indies and sailed it to Virginia with their captives. Among the captives was an unnamed Portuguese pilot. Virginia's governing council wrote to Virginia Company officials asking what to do with this pilot "[…] who seems to be expert in all places upon the Coaste of ye west Indyes who is yett livinge." His fate, unfortunately, goes unexplained.[74]

Despite a long history of antagonism between England and France, many French settlers contributed to the history of Jamestown, some willingly, some not. The latter consisted of

French Jesuits priests and their fellow colonists taken hostage by the English during raids on their settlements. In 1604, French Catholics established a colony on the island of St. Croix in the river of the same name, located between the present-day boundaries of Maine and New Brunswick, Canada. The colony relocated the next year to Port Royal (present-day Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia), but was abandoned in 1608. The Port Royal colony was re-established in 1610, followed by a second colony founded by Jesuit priests in 1613 at Mount Desert (Maine). Through contemporary publications about French colonization and information provided by French Huguenots, the English learned of these French settlements, and because they were on land claimed by England plans were made to eradicate them.[75] In 1613, Captain Samuel Argall, commanding the *Treasurer*, sailed from Jamestown and raided the French colonies twice. Following the first raid, he brought fifteen French prisoners, including Fathers Pierre Baird and Jacques Quentin, back to Jamestown. Fathers Baird and Quentin, and several other French captives, were returned to France, but about half of the French captives were still in Virginia when Argall sailed to England aboard the *Treasurer* on 28 June 1614, carrying, "[…] the certificates and depositions of several Frenchmen who remained in Virginia." Father Baird reported in 1615 of the French captives remaining in Virginia "[…] three died in Virginia, and four are there still." Regrettably, their fates remain unrevealed. [76]

These French captives, however, were not the first French at Jamestown. According to William Strachey's account, there was another Frenchman in Virginia before them: "We proposed to set a Frenchman here to work to plant vines, which grew naturally in great plenty." The date was July

1610, and it would seem this Frenchman was in the colony on his own volition.[77] Other Frenchmen followed, sent by the company to Virginia to capitalize on their skills in wine and silk production and create financially successful enterprises. In 1619, John Pory wrote from Virginia, "There belonge so many severall skills to ye plantinge and dressinge of a vineyard and to ye makinge and preservinge of wines, whereof our nation is ignorant, as needes must wee have Vignerons from forraine partes." He also asked, "[…] to send hither men that have in other Countreyes bene trayned [in the silk] profession."[78] The company agreed and recruited eight Frenchmen from the province of Languedoc to go to Virginia and commence wine and silk production. These men were dispatched to Jamestown on the ship, *Abigail*, in February 1621, and a careful study of company records seems to indicate their names: Peter Arundell; his oldest son, John Arundell; Richard Arundell; Anthony and James Bonall; Elias Legardo; David and Daniel Poole. (Peter Arundell may have brought his wife, Elizabeth, and his son-in-law, perhaps one of those named above.)[79]

These eight Frenchmen and their families were established at "Buck Roe" in Elizabeth City.[80] Letters written by the Frenchmen proclaimed, "[…] that no Countrey in the world was more proper for Vines, Silke, Rice, Olives, and other Fruits, then VIRGINIA is: and that it farre excelled their owne Countrey of Languedocke […]."[81] But production was slow and profits minimal. Dissatisfied Virginia Company officials urged a greater effort:

> The Vines and Silk are in your powers to effect, and we hope a good entrie hath beene made into them, according to your promise, whereof if we may

> see some fruite as we hope to do this return, it wilbe a great repaire not only to ours and your credit but to the honor of the Plantation, which hath much suffered in the long delay of these so promised works […].[82]

Despite this slow start, company officials expressed concern about the Frenchmen's contract with the company expiring in 1624. They instructed the governing body in Virginia to re-secure their services, but "[…] if not for ever yet at least so long, until theire skill and knowledge in those things may be derived into such numbers of our people, as may be sufficient for a large imployment in those works."[83] The Frenchmen stayed, but their efforts at wine and silk production never succeeded as another crop occupied their attention: tobacco. In February 1632, the Virginia Assembly expressed their displeasure with the Frenchmen's preoccupation with tobacco in a proclamation:

> Upon a remonstrance preferred to the assembly, complayninge that the ffrenchmen who were, about ten yeares since, transported into this country for the plantinge and dressinge of vynes, and to instruct others in the same, have willinglie concealed the skill, and not only neglected to plant any vynes themselves, but have also spoyled and ruinated that vyniard, which was, with great cost, planted by the charge of the late company and theire officers here, […], It is therefore ordered that the sayd ffrenchmen, together with theire families, be restrained and prohibited from plantinge

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> tobacco, upon penaltie to forfeit theire leases, and imprisonment until they will depart out of this colony.[84]

Based on land patent records, at least one Frenchmen, John Arundell, adhered to the Virginia Assembly's February order to stop unrestricted tobacco production as by September 1632 he still possessed the land inherited from his father, Peter Arundell.[85]

Of all the industries attempted in the struggling colony, one commodity was needed desperately for use in the colony and for shipment to England: salt, needed for the preserving of foods, especially meat. The Virginia Company contracted in 1620 with, "Three sufficient men for perfecting the Salt-works: One a French man from Rochell which workes are likewise there begun."[86] John Pory recorded that in the fall of 1621 he accompanied Estinien Moll, a Frenchman, to Smith's Island on the Eastern Shore, "'where was our salt-house, to find a convenient place to make salt in.'"[87] Was Estinien Moll the French salt-maker recruited in 1620?

Nicholas Martiau, a French Huguenot, naturalized in England, arrived in Virginia in the spring of 1620 on board the *Francis Bonaventure*. According to the 1625 muster, he resided at Elizabeth City and was 33 years old.[88] The Virginia Company paid him to build fortifications in Virginia because of his military engineering skills:

> […] a ffrenchman who hath been longe in England very skillfull therin who promised to agree with him for a certaine some of monny to goe over

> and live there signefyinge of two sortes of ffortefycacons, […], and there to make some Pallysadoes which he conceiveth the fittest, and for which this ffrenchman is singular good.[89]

How many fortifications Martiau constructed in Virginia is unclear, but archaeologists discovered and excavated one of his fort sites in 1989. Located at Yorktown, excavations of the site have confirmed that Martiau was indeed a very capable military engineer.[90]

Martiau became a member of the House of Burgesses, acquired 1,300 acres of land near present-day Yorktown, and raised a large family. His third daughter, Elizabeth, married George Read in 1637, starting a family line that would become famous due to Nicholas Martiau's great-great-great grandson, George Washington.[91]

Non-English Europeans from Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Germany, the Netherlands, maybe present-day Belgium and Luxembourg, Italy, Switzerland, Poland, perhaps Sweden (also comprising modern-day Finland), Austria, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, and France contributed to the success of the first permanent English colony in North America from 1607-1625. Some, like the Spanish, came to spy on Jamestown. Some, like the Walloons and French Huguenots, thought Virginia might allow them to escape religious persecution, while others, such as the French Catholics in Nova Scotia, were brought against their will to Jamestown and made residents by force. The majority of the non-English Europeans who came to Virginia from 1607-1625 were sent by the Virginia Company of London to use their skills to create financially successful

commercial enterprises, imitating the English business tradition of using non-English craftsmen. Some of the same investors and managers of these English businesses and overseas trading companies were also stockholders and governing officials in the Virginia Company of London. It was sound business practice to combine their effort at colonization, with all of its desired economic benefits, with the home-grown businesses of England. But, despite the efforts of imported craftsmen to Virginia, none of their enterprises were successful enough to create profits for themselves or the Virginia Company of London. Yet, in spite of these failed colonial economic adventures, these people contributed to the colony's ultimate survival against what seemed, at times, insurmountable odds.

As Jamestown observes its 400th anniversary in 2007, several commemorative events will be held at Jamestown, nearby locations, and other areas throughout Virginia highlighting Jamestown's historical significance and paying tribute to the Virginia Indians, English settlers, and Africans who made its history. And another group of people important to Jamestown's story should also receive due recognition: non-English Europeans. As the Great Seal of the United States makes clear, what started at Jamestown in 1607 eventually led to the creation of a new nation based on the seal's motto, *E Pluribus Unim*, "one out of many."

NOTES

1. "Nova Brittania," in Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers relating principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, reprinted, (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), I, 6:17. Robert Johnson was a London alderman and the deputy treasurer of the Virginia Company of London in early 1609. He presented his economic discourse at a company meeting and on 28 February 1609, it was submitted for publication. See also, Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1898), pp. 77-79.

2. "Letters Patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers an others, for two several Colonies and Plantations, to be made in Virginia, and other parts and Territories of America," in Alexander Brown, ed., *The Genesis of the United States*, reprinted, (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), I, 52-53. Only eight names are listed as petitioners, or sponsors, seeking a patent for the king's charter, although there were undoubtedly more sponsors than those listed, and some of them had prior and/or on-going connections to other English joint-stock investment companies, such as the Muscovy or East India Companies. See, ibid., pp. 46-47; and, Wesley Frank Craven, *The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624*, 4th ed., (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 1970), pp. 2-4. The king's charter actually created two companies for the colonization of Virginia. The Virginia Company of London was authorized to settle in an area of North America called South Virginia, stretching from 34° to 41° north latitude. The second company, the Virginia Company of Plymouth, was authorized to settle in the area termed North Virginia that was located between 38° to 45° north latitude. Neither settlement could be located within 100 miles of each other. Named for its patron, Lord Chief Justice of England Sir John Popham, the Plymouth Company established the Popham Colony in the late summer of 1607on the Kennebec River located in present-day Maine. Unfortunately, conditions proved so intolerable the colony was abandoned in the fall of 1608. Ibid., p. 1-2; Brown, *Genesis*, I, 52-55; Brown, *First Republic*, p. 8; and, Ivor Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure, Roanoke to James Towne: An Archaeological and Historical Odyssey*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), pp. 113-120.

3. Maguel swore all he reported was true, and he was willing to return to Virginia "[…] to serve His Catholic Majesty, by showing to the eye all that he says, if H[is] M[ajesty] should be pleased to employ him in this service." "Report of Francis Maguel," in Brown, ed., *Genesis*, I, 393-399; and, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 125. See also, Francis Maguel, "Report of what Francisco Maguel, and Irishman, learned in the state of Virginia during his eight months that he was there, July 1, 1610," in Edward Wright Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony, The First Decade: 1607-1617* (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), pp.447-453. Contrary to Brown, Haile claims the letter containing Maguel's report was sent by Ambassador Velasco to his king, nevertheless, no matter who sent the Maguel report it is obvious both King Philip III and Velasco considered it to be vital intelligence about the English colony at Jamestown. Spanish ambassadors in England were continually seeking information about the Virginia colony to report to their king, none more aggressively than Don Pedro de Zuñiga who incessantly advocated the destruction of Jamestown. Spanish ambassadors in England from 1606-1624, the period of existence of the Virginia Company of London, were Don Pedro de Zuñiga (1605-May 1610), Don Alonso de Velasco (1610-1613), Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count de Gondomar (August 1613-April 1622, being absent from England from July 1618 to March 1620 and his duties assumed by acting ambassador, Spanish Secretary Julian Sanchez de Ulloa), and finally Don Carolo de Columbo. See, Brown, ed., *Genesis*, II, pp. 899-901, 1037, 1067-1068.

4. Brown, *First Republic*, p.58. In an August 1609 letter, Sir Richard Moryson recommended the following course of action for Virginia to the Earl of Salisbury, High Treasurer and Chief of State to James I, as well as the patron of the Jamestown colony, "Should his Lordship please to allow of *them* [Irish pirates] to be employed in the intended plantation of Virginia, […], he thinks good use might be made of them for the present there, both in defending them now in the beginning, if they be disturbed in their first settling, and in relieving their wants from time to time." See, "Moryson to Salisbury," in Brown, ed., *Genesis*, I, 325. This author found no evidence of "Irish pirates" being sent to Jamestown.

5. Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, III (Washington, 1906-1935), 587.

6. Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodroof Hiden, eds., *Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia 1607-1625*, 1st ed., (Princeton, 1956), pp. 48, and 181-183. See also, Kingsbury, *Records*, I, 501-502; III, 497. The origin of the

name Newport News is described in detail in the article, "Newport News: Origin of the name of," *The William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, IX, No. 4 (April 1901), pp. 233-237. The name originates from Newce's Town in Brandon, Ireland, a town founded by Sir William Newce, a friend of Daniel Gookin. Sir William Newce offered to transport 1,000 settlers into Virginia, was granted a land patent in the colony of 2,500 acres by the Virginia Company, and was named the colony's Marshal and a member of its governing council. He arrived in Virginia in October 1621, but unfortunately died soon thereafter. Sir William's brother, Captain Thomas Newce, preceded his brother to Virginia where he served on the governing council and was given several hundred acres of land including 600 acres at Kecoughtan in Elizabeth Cittie, which contained the site of "New Porte Newce". Captain Newce died in Virginia in 1623. See Brown, *First Republic*, p. 459; however see, Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 227, for the use of the name "Newports-Newes" instead of Point Hope in November 1619, prior to the arrival of Captain Thomas Newce in the winter of 1620; and Michael Jarvis and Jeroen van Driel, "The Vingboons Chart of the James River, Virginia, circa 1617," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, LIV, No.2, April 1997, 377-394. See, Nicholas P. Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, XXX, No. 2, October 1973, 575-598, for a discussion of English colonial policy in Ireland and its influence on the colonization of Virginia.

7. Kingsbury, *Records*, I, 626.

8. Kingsbury, *Records*, III, p.567. Francis was listed as being a resident of Mr. Richard Owen's House near Westover Plantation, not as a resident of Elizabeth City, the site of Gookin's residence.

9. John Camden Hotten, ed., *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality; … 1600-1700*, reprinted, 4th ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc. 1980), p.194.

10. Kingsbury, *Records*, IV, 229.

11. Hotten, ed., *Original Lists*, pp. 194-195. Daniel Gookin left Virginia sometime in April or May 1622 on board the *Sea Flower* and was the first to bring news to England of the March 22 attack. See Jester and Hiden, *Adventurers*, pp.182-183.

12. Brown, *First Republic*, p.461.

13. John Smith, "The General History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles," in Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives*, p. 279.

14. Ibid., p.292; David F. Riggs, *Embattled Shrine: Jamestown in the Civil War*, (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: White Mane Publishing Company, Inc., 1997), p.20. Thomas ap Richard is listed among the slain on March 22, 1622, as is "Henry a Welchman." See, Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 569-570. Also, John ap Roberts and Christopher Welchman are listed among the dead on 16 February 1623/24. See, Hotten, ed., *Original Lists*, pp. 190 and 195. In addition to a list of the dead another list entitled, "A List of Names; of the Living in Virginia, February the 16 [,] 1623[1624]" was compiled, and among the living are John and Lewis Welchman at Elizabeth City. Ibid., p. 183.

15. Peter Winne, "Letter to Sir John Egerton, 26 November 1608," in Haile,ed., *Jamestown Narratives*, p.203. See also William Strachey, "The History of Travel into Virginia Britannia: The First Book of the First Decade," ibid., p. 577: "Lastly, the language of the Indians admitting much and many words, both of places and names of many creatures, which have the accents and Welch significations […]."

16. Smith, "General History," ibid., p. 294. See also Smith's description of how Winne naively gave weapons to the Germans at Jamestown, who then gave them to Chief Powhatan, and Winne's failure to follow Smith's orders when attacking the Paspahegh village near Jamestown. Ibid., pp. 304 and 316-317.

17. Brown, *First Republic*, p.71.

18. Don Pedro de Zuñiga, "Letter of Don Pedro de Zuniga to the King of Spain," in Brown, ed., *Genesis*, I, 118-119.

19. "We should never underestimate the importance of the accession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England. Here was the first Scottish king to rule over both countries. For the first time a monarch would be styled, albeit at his own insistence, King of Great Britain." See, Christopher Lee, *1603: The Death of Queen Elizabeth I, the Return of the Black Plague, the Rise of Shakespeare, Piracy, Witchcraft, and the Birth of the Stuart Era*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), p.72. See also, ibid., p.124, for a discussion of the new king's Scottish consorts and their ambitions for wealth and preferment once in power.

20. Smith, "General History," in Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives*, p.293. Smith's "Dutchmen" were actually German glassmakers. (See below, footnote 22). In some cases, "Dutchman" derived from the German word, "Deutschmänner" or "Deutsch" meaning German. See, Hume, *Virginia Adventure*, p. 216. However, as discussed later in this article, the term "Dutch" was also used at this time to identify people from the Netherlands. (See below, footnote 36.)

21. "In the later Middle Ages, moreover, there was an influx of 'aliens' from northern Europe who established themselves outside the City of London's jurisdiction in such places as Southwark; glaziers and goldsmiths were prominent among them." See, John Blair and Nigel Ramsay, eds. *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, 2nd ed., (London: The Hambledon Press, 2001), p. xxiv; also see, ibid., pp. 214, 278-279, and 350-351. In addition, see, Elspeth M. Veale, "Craftsmen and the Economy of London in the Fourteenth Century," in A.E.J. Hollaender and William Kellaway, eds., *Studies in London History*, (Great Britain: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1969), pp. 133-151; and, Sylvia L. Thrupp, "Aliens in and Around London in the Fifteenth Century," ibid., pp. 251-272. Throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries, English scholars, explorers and politicians espoused colonization efforts for their country in order to achieve various goals. One treatise, "Reasons for raising a fund for the support of a Colony at Virginia [1605?/1607?]," proclaimed: "That realme is most complete and wealthie which either hath sufficient to serve itselfe or can finde the meanes to exporte of naturall commodities then [if] it hath occasion necessarily to importe, consequently it muste insue that by a publique consent, a Collony transported into a good and plentiful climate able to furnish our wantes, our monies and wares that nowe run into the handes of our adversaries or [cold] frendes shall passé unto our frendes and naturall kinsmen and from them likewise we shall receive such things as shalbe most available to our necessaties, which intercourse of trade maye rather be called a home bread trafique than a forraigne exchange." Brown, *Genesis*, I, p. 39. See also, John Stepney, Lord De la Ware, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Cope, Master Waterson, "A True and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia […], (London 1610)," ibid., pp. 337-353; and Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, reprinted (New York: Peter Smith, 1935), I, 1-70. As revealed by Carter C. Hudgins, Staff Archaeologists with Jamestown Rediscovery Project®, one stimulus for Jamestown's establishment was an interest in the discovery of zinc ores required for brass production in England. Brass was used to make high quality cannons versus those made of iron. In early 17th century Europe, brass was created in a process known as cementation whereby copper was combined with a zinc carbonate referred to as calamine stone. England's copper mines and copper products were controlled by two English monopolies called the Society of Mines Royal and the Society of Mineral and Battery Works; the latter monopoly responsible for producing brass. Unfortunately, English calamine stone was inadequate for industrial use. Through chemical analysis of a large sample of scrap copper pieces excavated at the James Fort archaeological site (c.1607-1610), Hudgins demonstrates that a large percentage of this copper originated from English mines and was intentionally sent to Jamestown by the copper monopolies to help find sources of calamine stone in Virginia. Complementing his scientific analysis, Hudgins, using documentary records of Jamestown residents, the Virginia Company of London, and the English copper monopolies, discovered that many of the copper monopolies' directors and shareholders were also organizers and investors in the Virginia Company. Hudgins' discoveries raise several important points. First, because many of the same directors and shareholders served in all three companies there was an attempt to assist English brass production through the Jamestown enterprise. Second, experimentation with brass production probably occurred at Jamestown as early as 1607 due to the presence there of Captain John Martin, son of Sir Richard Martin, the Lord Mayor of London, Master of the Mint, shareholder in the Society of Mineral and Battery Works, and lease holder for England's brass production. Captain John Martin was knowledgeable in refining ores and involved in metal "tryalls" (experiments) at the fort. Third, both copper societies brought skilled European workmen into England to ensure success with their enterprises. The practice of using skilled labor from "forraine parts" was continued at Jamestown by the Virginia Company of London, and very early in the colony's history. Carter C. Hudgins, "Articles of Exchange or Ingredients of New World Metallurgy? An Examination of the Industrial Origins and Metallurgical Functions of Scrap Copper at Early Jamestown (c. 1607-1617)", in press, *Early American Studies*, 2005.

22. The latest scholarship identifies the glassblowers as being German based on a long tradition of glassmaking in certain areas of Germany. Grossalmerode, a town east of Kassel in the state of Hesse, and a site in the Spessart mountain range southeast of Frankfurt, was an important German glassmaking center. Also, Jamestown Rediscovery ® archaeologists have found at the 1607 fort site "industrial strength" crucibles, clay vessels of near-stoneware strength that could withstand high heat for melting raw materials. The interior of two of these crucibles contain molten glass, evidence of early glassmaking attempts at Jamestown, and a third bears the marks, PTV/GER, on its base. GER signifies the crucible was made in Grossalmerode, which had a 400-year history of crucible and glass production peaking in the early 17th century, and PTV identifies the maker as Peter Topfer, also from Grossalmerode. Beverly A. Straube, "Tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor …," in William M. Kelso and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery VI* (Richmond, Virginia: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 2000), pp. 62-66; William M. Kelso, *Jamestown Rediscovery II* (Richmond, Virginia: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1996), p. 40, Figure 43; and, Gary C. Grassl, unpublished letter to Jonathan McMahon, Department of History, College of William & Mary, May 19, 1999; Jonathan McMahon, "Non-English Migration to Seventeenth-Century Jamestown and Virginia," unpublished research paper as a Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation Fellow, 1999. Many thanks to Nancy Egloff, Chief Historian at the Jamestown Settlement, for providing me a copy of Mr. McMahon's paper as it is an excellent source of information about the multi-national population of 17th century colonial Virginia.

23. Smith, "General History," in Haile, ed., *Narratives*, p. 287.

24. Ibid., pp. 294 and 304. Smith, just a little later in the same narrative, wrote he sent "four Dutchmen" to build Chief Powhatan's house. Ibid., p. 296. This adds some confusion to the number of Germans versus Poles who arrived in 1608.

25. Grassl, unpublished letter.

26. Strachey, "The History of Travel," in Haile, *Narratives*, p. 635. Smith also described in 1609, "[…] the glasshouse, a place in the woods near a mile from James Town […]." see Smith, "General History," ibid., p. 315.

27. "A Brief Declaration of the plantation of Virginia during the first twelve years, … By the Ancient Planters now remaining alive in Virginia," ibid., p. 894. Additional information about the Poles will follow later in this article.

28. Grassl, unpublished letter.

29. Smith, "General History," in Haile, *Narratives*, pp.298-299.

30. William Volday (or Foldoe) was also identified by William Strachey as a Helvetian, another name for someone from Switzerland. Apparently Volday/Foldoe was experienced in mining and had supposedly discovered silver in Virginia. Somehow he managed to leave the Powhatan Indians, return to Jamestown and go back to England, where he convinced Virginia Company officials of his discovery. He was sent back to Jamestown with Lord De la Warr in June 1610 to mine the silver he claimed to have found, but due to pressing matters the silver mines were put off for a later time. Volday/Foldoe refused to disclose the mine's location and, "[…] the said Helvetian died of a burning fever and with him the knowledge of that mine […]." Strachey, "The History of Travel," in Haile, ed., *Narratives*, pp. 687-688; Thomas Dale, "Letter to the Council of Virginia, 25 May 1611," ibid., p. 521; and Smith, "General History," ibid., p.337. According to Smith, Volday/Foldoe had been sent to capture the runaway Germans, but instead, conspired with them to destroy the colony by hopefully convincing Chief Powhatan "[…] to lend them but his forces and they would not only destroy our hogs, fire our town, and betray our pinnace, but bring to his service and subjection the most part of our company." Smith, "General History," ibid., p. 324.

31. Smith writes that Adam and Francis were put to death by Chief Powhatan when "[…] they promised at the arrival of my lord [De la Ware in June 1610] what wonders they would do, would he suffer them but to go to him. But the king seeing they would be gone replied, 'You that would have betrayed Captain Smith to me will certainly betray me to this great lord for your peace,' so caused his men to beat out their brains." Ibid., pp. 304, 315-316, 325, and 337. Samuel, who did not return to Jamestown once he was sent to Chief Powhatan, was killed in March 1610 trying to flee from him to another Powhatan tribe, the Patawomeck,. See, Henry Spelman, "Relation of Virginia,

1609," ibid., p. 485; and J. Frederick Fausz, "Middlemen in Peace and War: Virginia's Earliest Indian Interpreters, 1608-1632," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 95 (1987): 46-48.

32. Smith, "General History," in Haile, ed., *Narratives*, p. 319.

33. Ibid., pp. 297-318.

34. Kingsbury, *Records*, I, 372; II, 115; III, 239-240, 588; IV, 143-144.

35. Ibid., III, 305.

36. Don Pedro de Zuñiga, "Letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, December 24, 1606/January 24, 1607," in Brown, *Genesis*, I, 89-90, and 440; and Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 144-145. In June 1609, Virginia Company officials issued instructions to Captain Thomas Holcroft to sail to the Free States of the United Provinces (Holland) and contact Englishmen in residence there about providing financial assistance to the Virginia Company or settlers for Jamestown. His instructions in part read, "[…] we desire to Invite unto us and our Company so many of his Majesty's subjects [in Holland] or *others* [italics mine] that be willing or desirous to join their purses or persons in this present supply [Lord De la Warr's relief expedition]." The "others" referred to in Holcroft's instructions must have meant Dutchmen (Hollanders) or other persons of any nationality interested in assisting the Virginia Company and Jamestown. See, ibid., I, 316-318; and, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 100. Captain Holcroft went to Jamestown with Lord De la Warr in 1610 and was named a company commander of militia. He oversaw the construction of Fort Charles at the village site of the ousted Kecoughtan Indians. Holcroft died in Virginia prior to Lord De la Warr's departure from the colony in March 1611. See, Brown, ed., *Genesis*, II, 924-925; William Strachey, "A True Reportory […]," in Haile, ed., *Narratives*, p. 433; and, George Percy, "A True Relation […]," in ibid., pp.508-509. England provided Holland financial and military assistance during their war for independence from Spain (1568-1648). The martial experiences of men like Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, learned while fighting in Holland with the Dutch against the Spanish, was one reason why the Virginia Company sent them to Jamestown to provide stability for the colony through their leadership skills. (Sir Thomas Gates brought his company of men serving in Holland with him on his expedition to Virginia in 1609. Perhaps some of these soldiers were Dutch. See, Brown, ed., *Genesis*, p. 895.) For additional information about English and Dutch cooperation during Holland's struggle for independence from Spain, see, Neil Hanson, *The Confident Hope of a Miracle: The True History of the Spanish Armada*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), pp. 141-142; and 147-155; and, Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp.115-177.

37. Sir Dudley Carleton, "Letter of Carleton to Chamberlain," in Brown, ed., *Genesis*, I, 111-114. In 1440 England imposed an "alien tax" on foreign immigrants residing within its borders. This poll tax, collected by local officials such as justices of the peace and borough authorities, called for an enumeration of the aliens residing in each locality. Although the alien tax records are oftentimes incomplete due to deaths and inter-county migration, it is possible to determine the nationality of many of these immigrants. Italians, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Irish, Welsh, Scots, Greeks, Icelanders, and Danes were some of the nationalities represented on the alien tax rolls with one group dominating the alien tax rolls of London: the *Doche*. *Doche* was the name applied to all immigrants from Holland, Flanders and Germany because of their language similarities, and overtime the term *Docheman* or *Ducheman* or *Duchemeene* was given as a surname to many of them. Further, a close study of the English alien tax records shows that more than 50% of immigrants residing in London and surrounding provinces were Dutch (Hollanders). This fact indicates that the terms *Docheman* or *Ducheman* or *Duchemeene* were probably used more often by the English to identify a Hollander than a German. See, Thrupp, "Aliens in and Around London in the Fifteenth Century," in Hollaender and Kellaway, eds., *Studies in London History*, pp. 251-272. There are instances in 17th century documents where people from the Netherlands (Holland) were referred to as Dutch. For example, see, Brown, ed., *Genesis*, I, 90, 136; II, 607.

38. Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 588. Ironically, Cornelius Johnson was master of the *The Flying Harte*, the ship that transported Daniel Gookin and his settlers to Virginia in 1621. See Brown, *First Republic*, p. 459.

39. Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1666*, 5th ed., I (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1979), 293. Two other Dutchmen, Arent and Derrick Cortsen Stam, patented a ½ acre riverfront lot at Jamestown in 1638 near "William Pierce his store." Ibid., 99.

Dutch trading ships were a common site at Jamestown as early as 1620, especially Dutch ships captained by David DeVries. See, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 376. DeVries recorded a visit to Jamestown in March 1633 following his anchorage at "Newport Snuw." See, "Newport News, Origin" pp. 235-236. In 1648 an eyewitness at Jamestown provided a detailed count of the ships docked there; "[…] at last Christmas, we had trading here ten ships from London, two from Bristoll, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New-England." See, "A Perfect Description of Virginia […]," in Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers*, II: 8: 14.

40. Brown, *First Republic*, p. 427. The 16th and 17th century Walloons were people from the southern part of present-day Belgium, called Wallonia, which included the province Luxembourg. When Belgium gained its independence from the Netherlands in 1831 it annexed the province of Luxembourg away from what later became the country of Luxembourg, raising the possibility of Luxembourgers being in Virginia. Walloons spoke a language sometimes referred to as being a French dialect, but in fact it was, and still is, its own language related to French. Today, most Belgian/Wallonians are Catholic, and French is the official language spoken; however, the Walloons seeking to settle Virginia in 1621 were Protestants. See, Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia on line, "The History of Belgium," February, 3, 2005, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belgium>; and Ibid., "The History of Luxembourg," February, 3, 2005, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luxembourg%2C_province_of_Belgium> and, <http://www.electionworld.org/history/luxembourg.htm>

41. "Promise of certain 'Walloons and French' to Emigrate to Virginia," in Hotten, ed., *Original Lists*, pp. 197-199.

42. Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 491-492.

43. Brown, *First Republic*, p.450; Richard B. Morris and Jeffrey B. Morris, eds., *Encyclopedia of American History: Bicentennial Edition* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976), pp.49-50; and Russell Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Forgotten Colony That Shaped America* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), pp.39-49. Some of the Leyden French Huguenots sailed with the Pilgrims on the *Mayflower* in 1620, including Priscilla Molines, future wife of John Alden. See, Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 5th ed., (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1991), pp.155-158. The Virginia Company was almost involved with the Walloons again, but on a more destructive note. A letter written by Anthony Hilton to his mother on 4 May 1623, states the ship, *Bonnie Bess*, was commissioned by the Virginia Company to transport, "[…] pro[v]ision for 2 yeares, as also with 15 gallant Gentlemen, and some of them their Wyues, and Children, with them richlie set forwards to plant in Virginia." Hilton's letter goes on to state once the colonists and supplies were left in Virginia, the *Bonnie Bess* was to proceed north to explore the Hudson River in hopes of locating the Northwest Passage to the South Sea [Pacific Ocean], "[…] and if wee there find anie straungers as Hollanders or other which is thought this yeare doe Adventure there, we are to give them fight, and spoile, and sincke them downe into the Sea, which to doe, Wee are well pro[v]ided with a lustie ship stout seaman, and great Ordnance[…]." The *Bonnie Bess* successfully sailed to Virginia, evidenced by people identified in the 1624/1625 muster as having arrived in Virginia in 1623 on this ship. Whether the *Bonnie Bess* sailed north to the Hudson and battled the Dutch fur traders is uncertain. Fortunately for the Walloons, their arrival at the Hudson was a year after the *Bonnie Bess* excursion. See, Kingsbury, *Records*, IV, 164-167.

44. Kingsbury, *Records*, I, 493, 499-500, 510-515, 565-566; III, 494-495. Sir Robert Mansfield (or Mansell) was a Member of Parliament, treasurer of the English Navy for life, served on the King's Council for the Virginia Company of London, and had ties with the East India, Muscovy, North West Passage, and Somer Isles (Bermuda) companies, as well as other various trade ventures. He, with the Earl of Pembroke and other notables, acquired in 1618, "'[…] the sole patent of making all sorts of glass with pit-coal.'" Sir Mansfield's Virginia Company connections and glassmaking interests provide another possible example of a multi-company shareholder and director mating their financial interests with Jamestown's, including the use of Continental European artisans. See, Brown, ed. *Genesis*, II, 941-942. The Earl of Pembroke, William Herbert, also served on the king's council for the Virginia Company, patented 30,000 acres in the colony in 1620, and proposed sending settlers and cattle to Virginia. Ibid., II, 921.

45. Ibid., I, 493; III, 495.

46. Kingsbury, *Records*, IV, 23-24.

47. Kingsbury, *Records*, IV, 108.

48. "List of the Living," in Hotten, ed., *Original Lists*, p.180; and in the 1624/1625 Muster Vincentio, Bernardo, "his wife" and "a child" are listed as living at the plantation of George Sandys. Apparently, these four are the only Italians to survive into 1625. See, Jester and Hiden, eds., *Adventurers*, p.40. See also, C. E. Hatch, "Glassmaking in Virginia, 1607-1625," *The William and Mary College Quarterly* 21 (1941): 130-138 and 227-229.

49. "List of the Dead," ibid., p.194.

50. Ibid., IV, 565.

51. Smith, "General History," in Haile, ed., *Narratives*, pp. 293 and 335.

52. See footnote 26; Sinclair Lewis, "Naval Stores in Colonial Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 72 (1964): 75-78; and, William Sutherland, "Prices of the Shipbuilding Adjusted: or, the Mystery of Ship-Building Unveiled, (London, 1717)," transcribed by Lars Bruzelius, *The Maritime History Virtual Archives*, "Of Pitch and Tar," December 22, 2004, <http://www.bruzelius.info/Nautica/Shipbuilding/Sutherland(1717b)_p185.html> Sutherland's account described the tar harvesting process as being "[…] made out of a sort of Pine Trees, from which naturally Turpentine extilleth, and which at its first flowing out is Liquid and Clear; but being hardened by the Air […]." He further states, "Tar is produced from the Knots of Fir-Trees, by a sort of Distillation, and of TarPitch is made by boyling the Tar, whereby it becomes stiffer and drier." He goes on to write, "I shall therefore allow a Coat (as it sometimes term'd) of Pitch to every Ship [each year] in England (that's in Publick Service) […]." Sutherland tabulated the number of barrels of pitch needed each year to coat the bottoms and sides of every ship in the British navy. The number came to 1,616 barrels of pitch to which he added an additional 500 barrels for assorted other boats, and, "also for pitching Planks within-side under Water in new built Ships […]," at a cost of 40 shillings per barrel; total cost £4,232. But tar sometimes had to be added to the pitch, "[…] since at times they mix Tar with Pitch, to Pay Ships Bottoms under Water, believing the Pitch by itself will be too hard, and will not penetrate into the Pores of the Plank […]." The total number of barrels of tar needed for this process for each ship, each year, was 1,339 at £1, 6 shillings, 3 pence per barrel; total cost £1,722, but, when added to the cost of pitch, the overall expense for both naval stores was £5,954 per year. One of the more difficult comparisons to make is the relative value of money between two different time periods, however, see, David A. Price, *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Heart of a New Nation*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), "Converting Money Figures," pp. 239-241. Basically, using Mr. Price's computations, adjusting for inflation and changing price levels, £5,954 in 1717 would equate to roughly $1,196,754 in 2001, a large annual expense for the British Navy. The need to find a less expensive source for these products was paramount, which it was hoped Jamestown would provide.

53. Straube, "Tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor …," in Kelso and Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery VI*, p.63.

54. Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 278-279.

55. Ibid., I, 251-252.

56. Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 484. The Virginia Company's newly appointed governor for the colony, Sir George Yeardley, established voter qualifications for electing burgesses in 1619, which were reaffirmed in 1621 by Governor Sir Francis Wyatt's instructions that allowed "two burgesses out of every town, hundred, or other particular plantation, to be respectively chosen by the [all male] inhabitants". Wyatt's 1624 instructions, however, were worded "…assemble all the freemen and Tenats," in the colony to vote for burgesses. These instructions intimate that indentured servants or servants could not vote. In 1655 suffrage was restricted to "housekeepers, whether freeholders, leaseholders or otherwise tenants," but restored to all freemen in 1657. The most restrictive suffrage act came in 1670 when the General Assembly passed a law requiring land ownership for voters. This law was overturned in 1676 restoring voting rights to all freemen, but the law was changed back in 1677 enfranchising freeholders only. See, Warren M. Billings, *A Little Parliament: The Virginia General Assembly in the Seventeenth Century*, (Richmond, Virginia: The Library of Virginia, in partnership with Jamestown 2007/Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, 2004), pp. 18, 104, and 175; Brown, *First Republic*, p. 312; William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statues at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature , in the Year 1619*

(Charlottesville, Virginia: Facsimile edition 1809-1823 reprint for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), I, 112, 334, 403, 412, 475; II, 280, 356, 425; III, 172; and Kingsbury, *Records*, IV, 449. If all freemen, including tenants, could vote, did it include all non-English male residents of appropriate age and status? For Europeans, based on the case of the Poles (see also the case of "John Martin, the Persian", footnote 69 of this article), it would seem the answer is, yes. What about Africans' suffrage rights? Although documentation is limited, records show some Africans and their descendants were able to gain their freedom from servitude in Virginia and own land, for example, Anthony Johnson, who arrived in Virginia in 1621, somehow gained his freedom by mid-century and was a landowner. A literal interpretation of pre-1670 voter qualifications intimates all free males of appropriate age, no matter their race, could vote for burgesses, but this author could find no definitive evidence of free Africans or their descendants voting, or not voting, in pre-1670 Virginia elections. The same can be said for Virginia Indian male residents living among the English. In 1723, Virginia's General Assembly passed an act stating, "no free negro, mulatto, or Indian whatsoever, shall vote…." This law suggests voting rights existed in the colony for free Africans and Virginia Indians pre-1723. See, Alden T. Vaughan, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 97, No. 3, July 1989; and, Hening, ed., *The Statues at Large*, IV, 133-134. The naturalization process for people "from forraine parts" was not codified by Virginia's General Assembly until 1671 and 1680. The preamble to the 1680 law states, "Whereas nothing can contribute more to the speedy set[t]ling and peopling of this his majesties colony of Virginia then that all possible encouragement should be given to persons of different nations to transport themselves hither with their families and stocks, to settle, plant or reside, by investing them with all the rights and privileges of any of his majesties naturall free borne subjects with the said colony." Hening, ed., *The Statues at Large*, II, pp. 464 and 289.

57. Smith, "General History," in Haile, ed., *Narratives*, p. 860.

58. Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 569.

59. Ibid., II, 279.

60. Ibid., II, 280.

61. Ibid., II, 510-511.

62. The third Virginia Company record that mentions Molasco involves an extraordinary court meeting held in London on 20 October 1623. The meeting was held to allow company members to vote on whether to maintain their patent or surrender it to the king based on charges of company mismanagement. Listed among those present at the meeting is, "The Polander"; however, on the vote taken to either keep or surrender the company's charter, "Molasco, the Polander" is listed as having raised his hand to surrender it. A notation next to his name states, "[it is] doubtful whether they ought to have a voice." The "they" in this notation also refers to, "Martin the Armeanian," who will be discussed later in this article. Perhaps Molasco was under the impression the company's earlier enfranchisement of him and the other Poles in Virginia also extended to the Virginia Company's boardroom. See, ibid., IV, 290-291.

63. Ibid., III, 314-315. A Mr. Moore was the company's agent who held this "treaty" to find artisans from "Easterne parts." See, ibid., I, 393.

64. Ibid., I, 420, 423, 430.

65. Ibid., III, 303. The Council in Virginia confirmed this observation in a letter sent to company officials dated January 1622, that stated, "[…] Pitch and Tarr we are in doubt will never prove staple Comodities in the Countrey by reasone yt the Trees (for ought yt we cann yet understand), doe grow soe dispersedlie as they are nott worth the fetchinge together […]." See, ibid., III, 586.

66. Gary Grassl, *The First Scientist at Jamestown, Virginia, was German*, in McMahon, "Non-English Migration," Appendix A, pp.1-8.

67. Ibid.; and, "Breslau-a Brief History," February 3, 2005, http://www.aufrichtigs.com/02%20Breslau%20Aufrichtigs/Breslau.htm

68. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, I, 24. See also the land patent for Richard Turney in 1651 that lists, "Syon the Turke." Ibid., I, 218. In addition to "Tony a Turke" listed in the 1635 Menefie land patent is, "Tony (an) Eastindian." Interestingly, Virginia Company officials on July 3, 1622, granted one share of land to "[…] mr. Robert Carles beinge a man that had lived Twenty yeares in the West Indies and 16: yeares in the East Indies beinge likewise verie skillful in orderinge curinge and plantinge of Rice Cotton-woole Sugar-Canes, Indico, […], of some whereof he had written a Treatise and besides was in part determined to goe himselfe to Virginia, [...], and [the company voted] to make him a ffreeman." Was Mr. Carles an Englishman who had been a servant in both Indies or was he of some other nationality? Sadly, the records do not impart this information. See, Kingsbury, *Records*, II, 73-74.

69. Another non-English person identified as being at Jamestown was "John Martin, the Persian." His name appears in an English admiralty court case document involving an incident in 1618 between two ships, *Neptune* and *Treasurer*, on their way to Virginia. According to the court document, "[…] John Marten […] Persia, seu Armenia *** the Lords prayer neither knoweth what the meaninge of an oath is and is the servant of the foresaid Captayne Argoll." (Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 423.) It is unclear from this document if Martin was a Persian or Armenian, but it does intimate he was a Muslim. Armenia, a Christian nation and part of the Ottoman Empire in the early 17th century, was being devastated by war waged between the Ottoman Turks and Persians (Iranians) for its control. Many Armenians fled their country to escape the on-going warfare and migrated to various parts of Europe. Whether Persian or Armenian, perhaps Martin was a war refugee and somehow became a passenger on one of the ships headed to Virginia in 1618. See, Armenian History, "Christianization," March 19, 2005,<http://www.armenianhistory.info/christianity.htm> and, ibid., "Under the Yoke," March 19, 2005, <http://www.armenianhistory.info/under.htm> Whatever his circumstances, if a Muslim, Martin converted to Christianity while in Virginia as indicated by two company court records. The first, dated May 8, 1622, states, "John Martin the Persian makinge humble suite for the Companies favor to the ffarmors of his Majesties Custome to free him from payinge double Custome [on his imported Virginia tobacco] which they required of hime beinge a Stranger notwithstandinge he was made a ffreeman in Virginia by Sir George Yeardley then Governor as by Certificate under the Collonies Seale [,] appeared Answeare was made touchinge his freedome that none but the Kinge could make him a free denizon of England […]." (Kingsbury, *Records*, I, 633.) The document makes clear that John Martin was made a freeman by Virginia's governor, which would only have occurred if he were Christian. However, because he was not an Englishman he was charged double import duty on the tobacco he imported into England. On behalf of Martin, Virginia Company officials protested against this unfair treatment of one of their colonists, but were informed by Customs' officials that only the King of England can grant English rights to non-Englishmen in England, and any English rights granted to someone by a colonial governor were not transferable to the Mother Country. (This same line of reasoning was used by some tax collectors with the 1440 alien tax law. Some immigrants claimed alien tax exemption due to England's naturalization laws, but a few tax collectors claimed only a royal or parliamentary decree could make someone an "ex-alien". See, Thrupp, "Aliens in and Around London in the Fifteenth Century," in Hollaender and Kellaway, eds., *Studies in London History*, pp. 254-255.) In the second company document dated May 20, 1622, Virginia Company officials discussed the Customs' ruling and claimed, "[…] havinge informed themselves of the priviledge of their Patent, that gives them [Virginia Company officials in England and Virginia] power to enfranchise Strangers [John Martin or any other person from "forraine partes"] and make them capeable thereby of the like imunities that themselves enjoy; Have therefore ordered that the Secretary shall repaire to the ffarmors of the Custome with a Coppie of the said Clause and that with the Courts speciall comendacon of mr. Martin [the Persian] unto them, and to entreat their favor towards him the rather in respect of this good likinge to the Plantation [Virginia] whither he intends to goe againe, which may happily encourage other Strangers to the like resolucon to goe over thither." (Ibid., II, 13-14.) The company quoted from the king's charter to support their contention that the rights of any freemen in Virginia, no matter their country of origin, were not only applicable in Virginia but also in England. Their charter stated, "[…] all and everie the parsons being our subjects which shall dwell and inhabit within everie or anie of the saide severall Colonies and plantacions, […], shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunites within anie of our other dominions to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and borne within this our realme of Englande or anie other of our saide dominions." (Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, *The Three Charters of the Virginia Company of London: With Seven Related Documents; 1606-1621*, introduction by Samuel M. Bemiss (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1957), p. 9.) The Virginia Company and their colonial officials were willing to reward freeman status, and the rights of that status, to those who had contributed, or who could potentially contribute, to the success of the colony, despite their homeland. (See enfranchisement of the Poles discussed earlier in this article on

pp. 15-16. The granting of English rights to "aliens" had been occurring in England since the Middle Ages. See, Thrupp, "Aliens in and Around London in the Fifteenth Century," in Hollaender and Kellaway, eds., *Studies in London History*, pp. 254-255.) It was hoped this policy would entice other "Strangers" to the colony. The third company document that possibly mentions John Martin involved the October 23, 1623, company meeting to vote whether to keep or surrender their charter. Listed with those voting to surrender the charter is "Martin the Armeanian". His name is listed next to the name of "Molasco the Polander". (Kingsbury, *Records*, IV, 290-291; see also footnote 61of this paper.) It appears likely that "Martin the Armeanian" of 1623 and "Martin the Persian" were one and the same person.

70. Brown, *First Republic*, p.152; and, "Report of the Voyage to Virginia," [document enclosed in letter of Duke of Lerma to Secretary Arostegui, November 13, 1611], in Brown, ed., *Genesis*, I, 511-522. The English sent John Clark, their pilot, to the Spanish ship to guide them to an anchorage near Fort Algernon, but the Spanish merely sailed away with him to Cuba. Clark was a Spanish hostage for five years and was interrogated about the Molina capture and the English colony. See, John Clark, "Declaration of the Englishman in Virginia [July 23] 1611," in Haile, ed., *Narratives*, pp. 542-548; and, John Clark, "Confession of the English Pilot of Virginia, 18 February 1613," ibid., pp. 690-694. After his release in 1616, Clark eventually went on to pilot the *Mayflower* on her famous 1620 voyage. Ibid., p. 44-45.

71. Sir Thomas Dale, "Letter of Sir Thomas Dale to Lord Salisbury [August 17, 1611]," in Brown, ed., *Genesis*, I, 508. Antonio Perez died during his captivity (residency) in Virginia in the spring of 1612. See, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 158.

72. Molina smuggled two of his letters out of Jamestown hidden in a coil of rope and in the sole of a shoe. One courier used by Molina was described by him as being a "gentleman from Venice." Other couriers he described as "trustworthy people." Ibid., pp.189, 196, 212 and 218.

73. Ibid., pp.229-230; and, George Percy, "A True Relation […]," in Haile, ed., *Narratives*, p. 516. A trial held in London in 1614 involving two Moors raises the possibility of other Spanish inhabitants in Virginia. Moors are Muslims oftentimes associated with northern parts of Africa. The Moors invaded Spain from Africa beginning in 711eventually occupying vast tracts of Spain. Spanish Christian states that survived the Moorish invasion battled over several centuries to regain control of Spain conquering the last Moorish enclave by 1492. Still, some Moors were allowed to remain in Spain if they converted to Catholicism. The descendants of these Muslim converts to Catholicism were known as moriscos, but between 1609 and 1614 many of them were systematically expelled from Spain. Most of these refugees went to northern Africa, but some ended up in other European nations. The two Moors on trial in London in 1614 might have been exiles from Spain. If so, they may have been sent to Virginia as punishment for their crimes of thievery, but not without an objection on their part. Spanish ambassador Gondomar reported their court case to King Philip III to emphasize how bad conditions were in Virginia. The ambassador wrote, "[Virginia] is in such bad repute that not a human being can be found to go there in any way whatever. So much so that a person who was present, has told me how in a Court of the Mayor [of London] when the case of two Moorish thieves came up, the Mayor told them, […], that they ought to be hanged; but that, taking pity upon them, he wished to pardon them, with this condition, that they should go and serve, […], in Virginia—and that they replied at once, […], that they would much rather die on the gallows here, and quickly, than to die slowly so many deaths as was the case in Virginia." Ambassador Gondomar reported they were to be hanged, but when actually confronted with death did one or both of the Moors change their minds and perhaps agree to go to Virginia? See, Ambassador Gondomar, "Letter from Don Diego Sarmiento y Acuña to the King of Spain [October 17, 1614]," in Brown, ed., *Genesis*, II, 739-740; and, Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia on line, "Moors", February 3, 2005, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moors>

74. Kingsbury, *Records*, IV, 569.

75. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1959, Reprint), p. 227;and, Philip L. Barbour, *Pocahontas and Her World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), pp.119-124. Incredibly, the French ship, *Grace of God*, docked at Newport, England from January 29 to February 6, 1611, before continuing its voyage to Port Royal carrying Jesuit priests and settlers for the French colony, providing the English concrete proof of French intentions to restart their colony in North America on "English soil". See, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 145.

76. Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 172, 191-195, 213-214, and 217-219.

77. William Strachey, "A True Reportory […], July 15, 1610," in Haile, ed., *Narratives*, p.435. See also, Brown, *First Republic*, p.128 and p. 133. Brown states "Frenchmen" were sent with Lord De la Warr in 1610 to plant vines and produce wine.

78. He goes on to relate how Sir George Yeardley's vigneron had died in the colony of old age. Was this Strachey's Frenchmen of 1610? See, Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 256-257.

79. Ibid., III, 239-240, 534-535, 230-231; I, 466; Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, I, 6, 11, 16; and, Jester and Hiden, eds., *Adventurers*, pp. 27,40, 65. A Robert Poole is listed in the muster for James Cittie in 1625, but it is unclear if he is related to David and Daniel Poole, both identified as Frenchmen. See, ibid., p. 29. Two other known Frenchmen sent to Virginia were Virbritt and Obel Hero who arrived on the *Abigail* in 1622. See, Ibid., p. 65. Both Peter and John Arundell were granted bills of adventure with the Virginia Company of London in October 1617. See, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 252.

80. Kingsbury, *Records*, III, p. 230-231; IV, 108; and, Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, I, 6, 11, 16.

81. Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 548.

82. Ibid., IV, 266.

83. Ibid., IV, 108, 267.

84. Hening, ed., *The Statues at Large*, I, 161.

85. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, I, 16.

86. Kingsbury, *Records*, III, 240.

87. Brown, *First Republic*, p. 420.

88. Jester and Hiden, eds., *Adventures*, p. 235.

89. Kingsbury, *Records*, I, 317.

90. Nicholas Luccketti, "The Road to James Fort," in William M. Kelso, Nicholas M. Luccketti, and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery V* (Richmond, Virginia: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1999), pp. 24-27.

91. Jester and Hiden, eds., *Adventurers*, pp. 235-241; and, Clyde F. Trudell, *Colonial Yorktown* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications, 1971, reprint for Eastern National Park & Monument Association), p. 41. Two British generals opposed to General Washington during the American Revolution, especially in the Yorktown campaign, were also distant relatives of people associated with the Jamestown story. Ambassador Zuñiga wrote on March 28, 1608, to inform his king, "The persons interested in Virginia increase daily and they have put into the Council [in London] as President Count Lincon […]." This man was Henry Clinton, the Earl of Lincoln, and the sixth Earl of Lincoln's grandson, Sir Henry Clinton, commanded all British forces in North America during the Yorktown campaign of 1781. See, Brown, *Genesis*, I, p. 147; and, Carl Van Dorn, *Secret History of the American Revolution* (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1941), p. 124. Lord Cornwallis, who commanded the British and German forces that surrendered to George Washington at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, was a relation of Sir Charles Cornwallis, England's ambassador to Spain in 1607. Brown, *First Republic*, p. 14.

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